1: Lin E-5 (1943) 1947 AE4 Lolo AE4

[39]

CHAPTER 4

THE FAMILY

361 As a basic unit of the Lolo clan, the family is the most closely related kin group. In a clan village, the number of families varies from about 10 to 50, each occupying a dwelling. The houses are scattered on a level plain or slope; together they constitute a village community.

594 The members of a family include husband, wife, and all unmarried children. After the children grow up and marry, they form a new family unit and live in a separate house. So the Lolo observe what is commonly called the small family system. As the household slaves (wa-tzu) are not included in the 567 kin group, there is also a master-slave relationship within each 592 household. The Lolo consider slaves as chattels; nevertheless the slaves are human beings, not immovables, and their behavior is related to group life. In Chapter 7, "Classes," the position of the slaves will be discussed in detail. It suffices to treat here the relationship between master and slaves within the household.

342 The behavior of family members and their interrela- 351 tionships are based on material aspects. First, we shall describe their dwelling, which is the center of family life. The construction of a Lolo house is adapted to the natural environ- [132] ment. Because of strong winds and heavy snow around Taliang Shan, all the houses are small and low, encircled by a square wall with one or two doors in the front or in left and right walls. For instance, Li-ch'ü Yo-ha's house in Pa-p'u village has only a wooden gate on the front half of the right wall, just a short distance from the corner of the fortified front wall. When we entered the door of Yo-ha's house, we [343] first saw an open level court; on its left or on the opposite side of the main gate was a fenced-in wooden enclosure, inhabited by fowls and cattle. At the front of the animal pen was tied a ferocious Pekingese dog, which barked madly at strangers and would probably have bitten them too if it had not been fastened to an iron chain. The households of Liang Shan had at 231 least one dog each for protection against enemies. Every time our inspection team passed a village, the dogs would chase and bark at us. Fortunately our Lolo headmen-protectors

241 Besides corn and buckwheat, other agricultural products include oats, potatoes, green vegetables, and turnips, each of which has its proper harvest season. Among them, [252] oats are considered the most precious. The Lolo usually grind them into flour and mix it with water to eat on a trip. Potatoes are produced in large quantities to be used as auxiliary food.

241 Lolo agriculture is aimed at self-sufficiency only. 461 The people will be quite satisfied if production each year is enough to meet the demands of consumption. The Lolo do not 311 work hard on the farms, nor do they want to expand the cultivated acreage or to improve agricultural techniques. So the good earth of Liang Shan still remains a tract of barren land.

[423] Every Lolo family has its own cultivated field, which 231 constitutes its basic property. The wealth of a black Lolo 556 household, however, is measured by the herd of animals it owns. Animals are also raised by the rich white Lolo. Domesticated 233 animals consist largely of sheep and goats, pastured by house- 343 hold slaves. The sheep pen is inside the walls of the house but sometimes also outside as a separate unit. In spring and summer when the weather becomes warm, a round bamboo stable is built on the mountain slope outside the village to house the flocks of sheep. These are watched over day and night by household slaves. Besides grazing, the sheep are fed salt water twice or thrice a month to stimulate the growth of wool, used mainly as material for making capes. Shearing is performed three times a year between the third and tenth month; 236 the wool cut in the third month is the best in quality. In the 527 hot seventh month, people from villages in different places 571 drive their flocks to Huang-mao Kang, partly to cool off and partly to cut the wool. At that time different clans and villages assemble to feast and play together after shearing. They exchange gifts and food, trade or barter, and talk and laugh in these semisocial gatherings. It is a very grand affair, popularly called the "wool fair."

231 Pigs are also raised in flocks of ten or more and tended by female household slaves, but pig breeding is not as [237] popular as sheep breeding. After the pigs are killed, the 439 bristles are shaved off from head and body for export to the Han-Chinese territory.

The Lolo also raise the common yellow oxen in herds of as many as several dozens. They are driven to the pastures outside the village in the early morning and returned to the stable in the evening. The oxen can be used for plowing and are more expensive than sheep and pigs. The Lolo do not

342 use as the master's bedroom. The center room is always used as kitchen, dining room, and living room combined. The remaining one serves as a stable for the cows and horses at night. There are no 343 privies, for all Lolo relieve themselves outdoors. In Tibet, people live on the upper story, while the ground floor is used as a stall for cows and horses, and as a privy. The Lolo, however, lead an even more primitive life; one can actually say that these people share their habitations with cows and horses. They have no true upper story although each of the two side rooms has a low, suspended upper floor made of thin strips of bamboo, which may be reached with a removable ladder. These suspended platforms are used mainly for food storage. Guests are also welcome to sleep upstairs as an expression of hospitality, or they may sleep on the muddy ground in the center room. While traveling in Liang-shan, we always preferred to stay on the ground floor for sleeping upstairs involved the danger of breaking through the partition and falling right to the ground.

/106/ In front of each Lolo house, there is a small piece of level ground used as a day-time resting place. The rooms are used solely as sleeping quarters. Except for one door leading out from the center room, there are no other doors nor windows; in fact, windows do not exist in the I region. The rooms are therefore very dark even 512 in the daytime and it is most uncomfortable to remain indoors. Hence all daily activities are performed outdoors where the little piece of level ground serves as a center. They do not enter the rooms before it is dark, and instead of using lamps, borrow light from the "kuo-chuang" /a cooking-pot stand above the stove/ for an evening meal, after which they drop off to sleep. The Wa-tzu toil all day in the fields and do not return until dark. The Heh-I, who are not obliged to labor in the fields, also refrain from doing any kind of menial work, which is 574 to be done by the Wa-tzu upon their return. For this reason it is customary for travelers in Liang-shan to wait until nightfall to visit or lodge with a family. Before that time there would be no one in the Wa-tzu's house, and though there might be some people at the Heh-I's, there would be no Wa-tzu there to attend them. In both cases the arrival of guests would be most inconvenient and embarrassing to the host. Should one discover that the hour is still too early, one might as well first take a nap on the way. It is of course permissible to be a little early. Under these circumstances, however, one must definitely not burst into the host's rooms but must stop and wait at the level ground in front of the house, which is the place where a host entertains his guests during the day.